in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. /103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depending on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
496 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

427 In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
432 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
312 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i. e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it
425 later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

/155 cont./

000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 648 167 241 427 K [427] [648] [175] We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished K [427] [648] [175] to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ H.T. [36] wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175 /156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 179 [241] The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kazmakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

H.T. 175 648 179